MR VERA'S

Independent

ATIU JOURNAL

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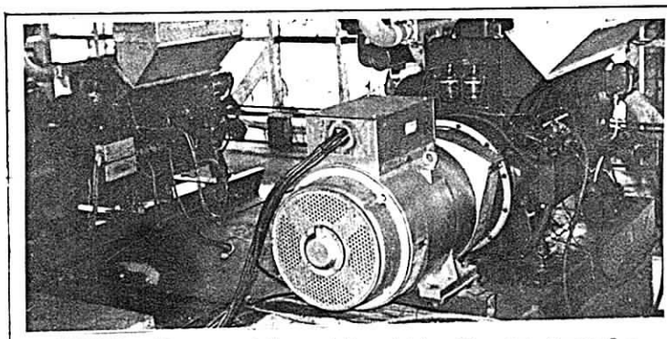
NO. 33 March 25 1988 Atiu-Cook Islands

BUDGET

With his first ev- budget due to be presented to the nation, PM Pupuke Robati faces twin economic and political crises as Parliament waits to reconvene.

INSIDE

APAI TE ENUA!



ABOVE: The problematic Atiu Power Supply. JOURNAL Investigations reveal that a staggering $2m would be needed to cope with development plans. The Big Achilles Heel?

ECONOMY & POLICY

The Government's Public Relations and Information Services may be the worst in the country's history, but highly vocal and successful public disinformation by the opposition should not obscure the fact that Coalition III under Pupuke Robati DOES have a coherent and interesting development policy.

INSIDE

WHITHER ATIU?

OUTER ISLAND AFFAIRS PLAYS MILLION DOLLAR DEVELOPMENT CARD

SPECIAL REPORT

THE ABC OF ADC

"WE WILL NOT ATTACK"

Following the sensational press release from the Atiu Office last week slamming ELI opponents, ADC chairman Mataki Kaiaruna bravely steps up front to answer questions about his controversial new company (SEE INSIDE PAGES)

TAKEOVERS

SMALL ATIUAN SOCKS BIG NORM

THE SATIRICAL WEEKLY OF THE PACIFIC

MR VERA'S

Independent

ATIU JOURNAL

a national publication.

P. O. ATIU C.IS.

Cook Islands

The JOURNAL offers a weekly review of news, commentary and features at home and abroad from a Cook Is. and Pacific Regional standpoint.

The JOURNAL is allied to no existing political party or faction.

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EDITOR: David Lewis.

Editorial

The people are either dependent or not dependent. Self-government, independence, self-determination newly emergent or whatever catchphrase is currently in vogue amounts to only one thing.

The people make the decisions.

NOT.....when they are ready.

It does not mean that a pack of white, semi-white or imitation whites make the decisions for them while the people get the privilege of marking their cross alongside.

That is NOT independence. It is what's called neo-independence....or neo-colonialism.

The Atiu Development Corporation has every chance (as did ELI) of becoming a much-needed Atiu Workers' Co-Operative that could do marvels for the people.

It can also become a lame-brained piece of neo-colonialism profiting its white manager and its politician organisers.

Mr. Kaiaruna, as Chairman has taken a firm step in the right direction on behalf of his shareholders in coming forward and speaking up on his own.

May he get much support from the people. He will get a lot from us as long as the big people stay out and wait for the little people to tell THEM what help they require.

COVER STORY

A "good" story is not just one that is certain to sell a lot of papers. It is, in essence, one that contains within it all the elements of "good" journalism - it's informative, challenging, educational and entertaining. Also, it offers readers a bit of a surprise.

The news item we carry as our cover story in this issue was given us by Mann Unuia, Chief Administration Officer in the Department of Outer Islands Affairs, a young and up-and-coming public service administrator with a rare government appreciation of sound public relations.

Mann had spotted that the real story of the role of Outer Islands Affairs in laying the foundations of a classic third world development programme in our Outer Islands was not getting through to the people.

Together with Atiu Project Officer Tangata Vainepoto, he outlined for us the work in infrastructure done on Atiu over the last two years.

All well and good, but does the often colourless grind of day-to-day development make an interesting feature...let alone a cover story?

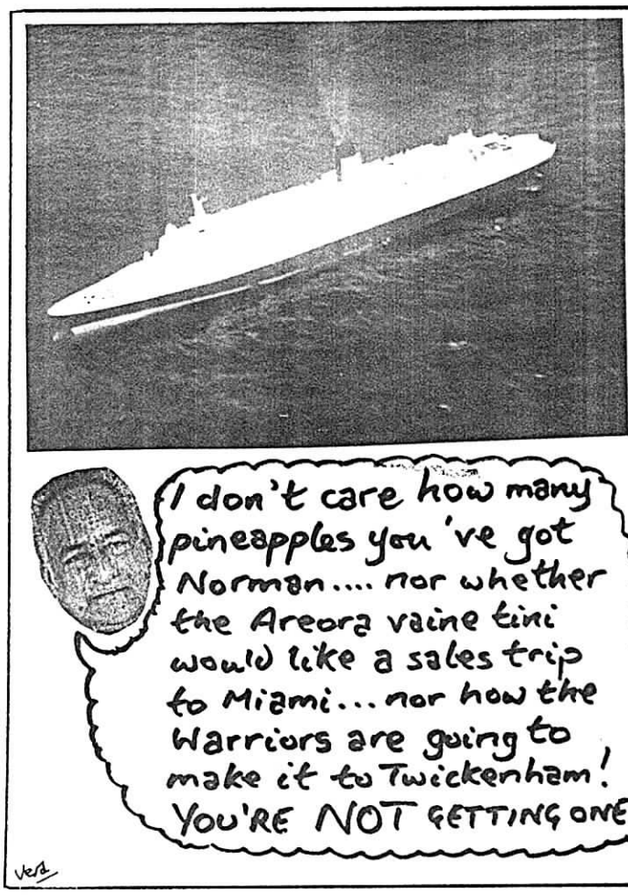
Not normally!

But what attracted us to this story was a combination of surprises.

Firstly, the sheer extent of the development input. Secondly, the fact that its driving force is one of the most retiring and least accessible national leaders in the history of the country, PM Dr. Pupuke Robati.

And, thirdly, the tale of Outer Islands Development in terms of Infrastructure makes impressive reading, as impressive as the twin tale of Outer Islands "hand-out" jobs is thoroughly depressing.

MAKING THE MOST OUT OF DEVELOPMENT!


I don't care how many pineapples you've got Norman.... nor whether the Areora vaine tini would like a sales trip to Miami... nor how the Warriors are going to make it to Twickenham! YOU'RE NOT GETTING ONE!
Vera

OUTER ISLAND AFFAIRS PLAYS MILLION DOLLAR DEVELOPMENT CARD

SCENE:

The Editor's Desk.
Five minutes to deadline. An editor is smoking three Marlboros, a duty free Havana Gold and a couple of cheroots. He facing the BIG DECISION. Circulation is down. He has no front page main. Should he lead with the Page 3 bum-'n-tits tart or should he go for broke and run the slightly blurred long distance chopper shot of what could be Princess Di naked on the beach at Acapulco sniffing coke astride a bull mastiff....

The phone rings.

ED: YEAH!!!

REPORTER: Nga here.

ED: Whatcha got?

RE: Hold the front page. I gotta biggie.

ED: YEAH!! YEAH!! Give...give..

RE: It's all about development.

ED: Whose ?

RE: The people's

ED: You got a shot of them?

RE: Sure boss.

ED: Naked ?

RE: Not really.

ED: (suspicious) So watcha got ?

RE: The Swedish Government have put up the money for a concrete goat pen in Ngatiarua.

ED: Any corruption involved ?

RE: Well, there is talk that part of the re-inforcing has been diverted to unblock the Mayor's septic tank.

ED: Thanks Nga. Don't count on a bonus. (slams down phone and begins to type furious paced front page lead with two minutes to deadline)

....SORDID TALE OF NAKED MAYOR IN SCENES OF BESTIALITY WITH SCANDINAVIAN DIPLOMATS.

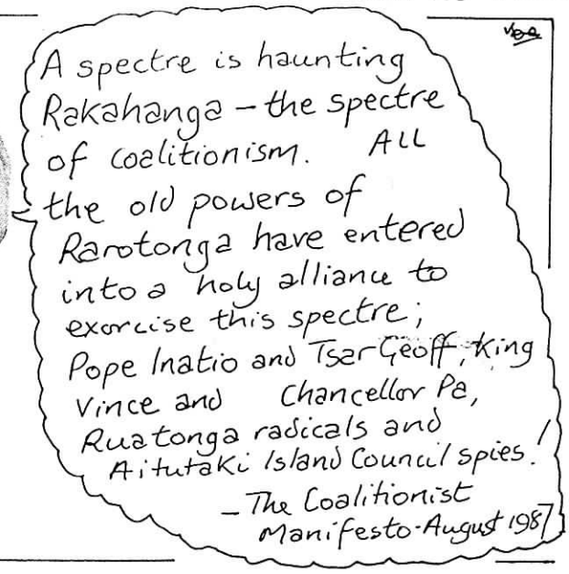
"Utterly frightful" - Princess Di.

(summons sub-editor)

ED: (waving copy) Run it front page three columns with the pickie of that ex-wog President having his nuts chopped off by the army.

SEE THE NEXT PAGE

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..


A spectre is haunting Rakahanga – the spectre of coalitionism. All the old powers of Rarotonga have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope Inatio and Tsar Geoff, King Vince and Chancellor Pa, Ruatonga radicals and Aitutaki Island Council spies!
– The Coalitionist Manifesto August 1987

NO, BUT SERIOUSLY—

Our Cover Story has, as its bare bones, a list of statistics given us by officers of O. Is. Affairs. That is not a story. Behind the stats lies the real story - the revolutionary attempt, using the political mechanism of coalition, to alter radically the economic condition of the Cook Islands Maori. It is a story which can't be told without a background, that of Coalition economic policy and, equally importantly, the little known and shadowy personality of Coaliton's current leader, PM Pupuke Robati.

It was one of those almost weekly event during the fund raising build-up to the Mini Games.

A Games Official had been asked to approach a suitable dignitary to conduct a formal opening.

With a couple of hours to go before the opening, the Official tracked down his boss.

The report was breathless, irate, frustrated. It was a fairly common behind the scenes feeling at the time.

"He won't do it," the Official stated, appearing to be close to the verge of cardiac arrest, "he says his people don't want him to have anything to do with the Games and he is not prepared to let them down!"

CUT TO.....

It is early morning at CIBNC.

The editor has sent a reporter "Upstairs" to handle the ritual after-breakfast complaints.

On this occasion, a minor date tucked down deep in a side column was under dispute.

The reporter returned...breathless, irate, frustrated. It is a fairly common behind the scenes feeling at CINews.

"He wants a front page correction and apology," stated the reporter....close to the verge of cardiac arrest, "he says his people have the right to have the date of things they do reported accurately."

CUT TO....

It is late afternoon Upstairs. A Department Official has dispatched a junior to give the message that the proposed flight to the North is utterly impossible, illegal and right out of the question.

The junior returned...breathless, irate, frsutrated. It is a fairly common behind the scenes felling Upstairs!

"He says he's still got to go," puffed the junior...a long way over the verge of cardiac arrest, "he says he won't let his people down."

"That's the same bloody problem all the time," noted the Department Official, "he's got !!**-ing tunnel vision about his 'people' ".

"HE" in each case

ECONOMY & POLICY

was sometime Chairman of Cabinet, former Deputy PM long-time and well-nigh venerated MP for Rakahanga, present PM, Dr. Pupuke Robati.

The anecdotes are not trivial.

To opponents and supporters they sum up the PM's essential public character.

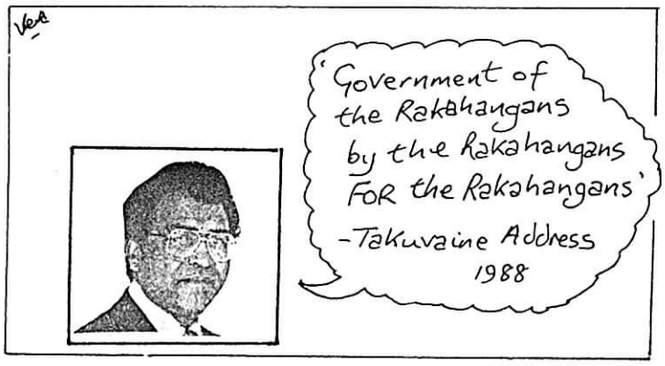
To opponents, they represent in sum the obtinacy, the pig-headedness, the obtuse and sheer infuriating tunnel vision they claim to detect in all dealings at a public level with the PM.

To supporters, however, they represent the direct opposite.

They add up, in their minds, to a crystal clear portrait of a man they deeply admire as someone holding resolutely to the values and principles of traditional Cook Islands leadership.

Those values can be detected sharply in action during each of

SEE THE NEXT PAGE



FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

the incidents mentioned above.

It amounts to a vision of leadership which involves one paramount quality.... ..loyalty to those you represent.

In Dr. Robati's case, it is taken to an extreme where it is extremely unlikely to get him to alter a stance which he feels his people (first Rakahangans, then CIs. Maoris and finally, all CIs. citizens) require him to adopt.

It is not a modern, nor a fashionable, stance in today's Cook Islands and South Pacific politics.

But, there are many to vouch for his belief that it is a simple Polynesian chiefly virtue that lasts longer than passing fashions.

At its worst, though, it is an attitude which finds complexity hard to resolve.

It can lead to an approach to great issues which ends up as not merely naive, but sometimes utterly crass.

Dr. Robati experienced such a moment at the hands of the French, those arch manipulators of innocence for their own ends.

In the eyes of a number of Cook Islanders, Dr. Robati's visit as PM to Muroroa, shamed the nation as he uttered the unforgettable and unforgiveable words (quoted in CINews) that he was "reassured" about French nuclear testing after his visit!

It was a remark seized upon by his opponents politically as well as by others who were outraged at such a statement in the name of this country.

What few offered by way of explanation was that, unforgiveable though the expression may have been, it was given in the same spirit that has conditioned his political life for the past 23 years.

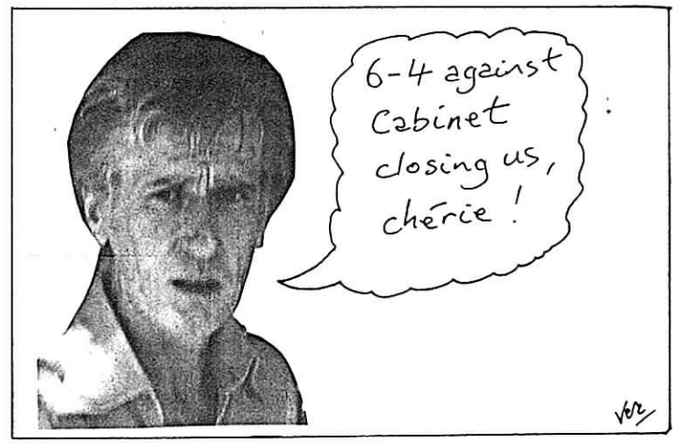
The French were his hosts. They had recently given aid to his country. It would be less than honourable to do anything other than honour their policies if we are prepared to accept their hospitality and money.

The accusation of political opportunism and personal gratification has been often thrown at the Coalitions led first by Sir Thomas Davis and now by Dr. Robati.

It has amounted to a brilliant piece of opposition politicking for 3½ years by Vincent Ingram, 2½ years by Geoffrey Henry and 1½ years by Sir Thomas himself!

Everyone has their own private apocryphal tale to back it up.

And, as election time approaches, the endless soap opera of graft, connivance,



self-interest and petty corruption is starting to leave commentators both here and overseas rather cold and cynical.

Pupuke Robati, after all, is not Mayor Daley, Vincent Ingram is no Robert Kennedy, Norman George is a rather lightweight Richard Nixon and the CIP HQ round the back of the BC is not the Democratic Party Convention HQ, Chicago '68!

If there is a sound basis for criticism of Pupuke Robati's leadership it is NOT the brilliant and populist (but erroneous) personality attacks of the opposition.

It is to be based upon a reasoning that old-style Polynesian leadership (however honourable and admirable it is when performed by

ECONOMY & POLICY

the likes of Dr. Robati) may not be suitable for the leadership of a complex economic and political unit such as the internationalised nation that is today's Cook Islands.

It can be argued that such leadership qualities and values put the whole nation's future in peril.

Leaders tend to over-emphasise the need for visible "chiefly" strength and become mere bullies; unsophisticated local island leaders end up being screwed by the likes of NZ, Australia, USA and France; they get sucked in by unscrupulous investors; the sense of obligation to supporters degenerates into unproductive handout government jobs; acceptable honour and recompense to traditional leaders rapidly ends up as simple universally traditional greed; and the rewards so accruing to the ruling politicians of the moment are of such extravagance that the fight to keep hold of them overwhelms the democratic political process.

It is nothing new in Polynesia.

It all came to a head in Tahiti last year with the ouster of Gaston Flosse, master entangler of custom, culture and obligation with commerce, contracts and manipulation.

Our political opposition may tend to be of

SEE THE NEXT PAGE

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

more service to the nation (though, arguably, not to their own political careers) if their opposition was based upon an analysis of the type of leadership and political system most appropriate to today, rather than lambasting personalities of whom they are, by and large, mirror images! (Given that they, too, derive power from at least mataiapo status).

The immediate reaction to such an analysis would probably be that leadership today requires a sophisticated level of political, commercial, economic and technological awareness.

There is a case, however, to be presented which argues that traditional leadership (given that it also includes a full awareness of the massive obligations of a proper traditional leader) can and should be the the leadership we follow in the Cook Islands.

The simple rationale is that the ideal, youngish, highly educated, politico-economic technocrat with acute awareness of modern politics and economics (e.g. Tahiti's Quito Braun Ortega) will be divorced from the working people.

The country he runs may give the outward appearance of efficient modernity in accordance with western capitalist values but it will rapidly cease being run from the people's perspective.

A concensus of traditional leaders, firmly rooted in the people's titular system and not bound by priority ties to parties, may be the only way to ensure that the affairs of the nation are run from the perspective of the people NOT from that of commerce, technology and the international community.

Leaders such as Dr. Robati embody such an ideal.

It ought to be offered to the people as Govern-

ECONOMY & POLICY

ment's case in opposition to the apparently superior skills in sophisticated modern leadership which the likes of Geoffrey Henry and Vincent Ingram can lay on the line.

However, any case government may have along those lines is currently thoroughly discredited by the patronage/hand-out system they have now massively resorted to.

Such, we believe is the **political** background which readers may wish to share before any examination of Government's economic policy.

As is appropriate in a leader, Dr. Robati embodies the Government's case and the anecdotes we offered at the outset may be seen to explain just why he is the best representative at present of Government's case. (..which is why, presumably, he is government's leader).

CAO Mann Unuia's O. Is. Developme-nt statistics as given to us by Atiu Project Officer Tangata Vaine poto mean little, therefore, in isolation.

They need to be viewed against a political and economic policy background.

Similarly, Dr. Robati's first major test as national leader, the forthcoming Budget (see front page) has to be set against a background in which the Outer Islands Development stats represent a significant feature.

The Budget comes at a crisis time for Government.

Reports leaking to us from Upstairs indicate that it may be the third deficit Budget the Demos or Demo-led Coalitions have presented.

That, in itself, in election year, could be a difficult high ball for the Government to catch with the opposition pounding up underneath it to crunch them.

As well as that, Mr. Matepi has to come up with about half a million

BUDGET

With his first ev- budget due to be presented to the nation, PM Pupuke Robati faces twin economic and political crises as Parliament waits to reconvene.

FROM PAGE ONE

as a temporary solution to the teachers' salary nightmare plus back pay or reports are widespread that there will be big trouble in the nation's largest public service.

As well as this, of course, in election year, everyone and his third uncle-in-law will have their hand out!

And it is no secret that there

SEE THE NEXT PAGE

I believe that rose is South African; your sherries look a bit Chilean; the uzo could be Israeli and the whole lot probably came in through Panama...
I wonder if associating with him is grounds for deportation?
I'd better slip Jack a quiet warning!

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

just isn't much money around!

Even more sinister rumours abound of our dear neo-colonialist "advisers" from NZ having a little budgetry lean here and there and of nos chers fully colonial bomb-testers putting the squeeze on le grand cheque de zillions!

But those are merely the jolly rumours which float around at budget time!

The real long-term test for Dr. Robati is whether he has the personal magnetism or the PR advisers to forget the problems and the hand-outs and haul sharply on the economic wheel to drag the country back into a long-range people's perspective.

His PR's, however, have obviously sounded out the election market and are into panic buying (the reverse of the commercial exchange!) of votes.

The $800,000 (possibly rising to one million by the end of the year) invested in Atiuan economic development by aid agencies through the management of Outer Islands Affairs (Dr. Robati's own Ministry) may offer him a solid people's framework around which to present his budget.

It does represent

It does symbolise the independence of the nation; it does rationalise self-government; and it does indicate very clearly the gross neglect of the nation by

ECONOMY & POLICY

UK and NZ over a period of about 160 years.

Every item is development from the people's perspective.

Some may have worked out better than others but the sum is a picture of proper government according to sensible priorities.

The statistics are the plus side of the government's ledger.

They go some way towards balancing the hand-outs and the patronage.

They represent, in Dr. Robati's terms, a loyal return to the people.

He would do well to return his MP's attention to them.

It is, after all, their record of office when all the quarrelsome non-issue of personality strife are long forgotten.

And, in the long run, that record of Coalition Years 1984-88 will be measured by posterity on one yardstick which will estimate quite simply.....to what extent did the government of the time reduce the dependency of the people.

That's the final estimate as to whether they have made the most of development.

Are we all, bro', more or less dependent than when this lot came in ?

If we're more dependent, then we'd better let the others have a go!

Tahiti's Gaston Flosse - "arch entangler"!

APAI TE ENUA! WHITHER ATIU?

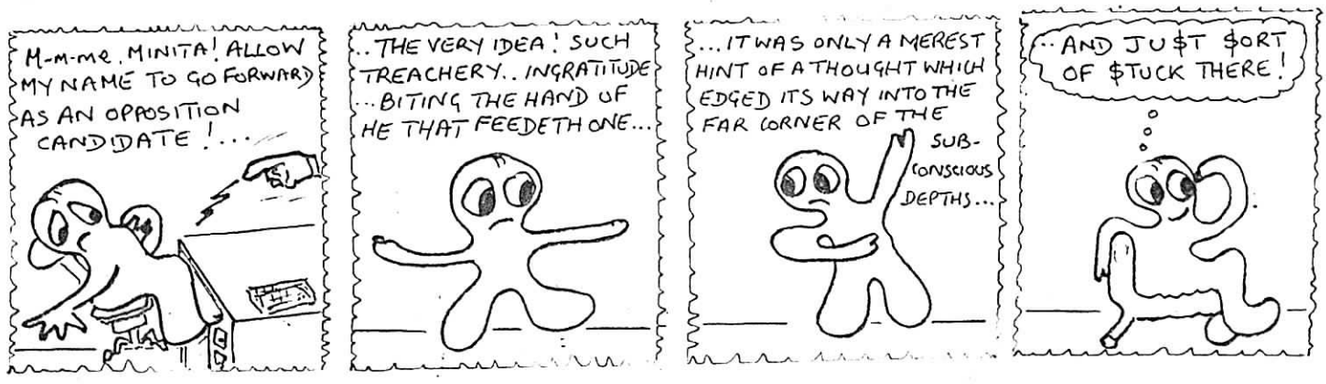
Develop the Country! Obviously a clarion call few would not respond to. But what exactly is being developed ? Where is Atiu heading to ? The list of aided Development Projects over the last two years shows clearly that the basic aim

SEE THE NEXT PAGE

the quorums

an everyday tale of political folk

tropo


M-M-ME, MINITA! ALLOW MY NAME TO GO FORWARD AS AN OPPOSITION CANDIDATE!...
..THE VERY IDEA! SUCH TREACHERY.. INGRATITUDE ..BITING THE HAND OF HE THAT FEEDETH ONE...
...IT WAS ONLY A MEREST HINT OF A THOUGHT WHICH EDGED ITS WAY INTO THE FAR CORNER OF THE SUB-CONSCIOUS DEPTHS...
..AND JU$T $ORT OF $TUCK THERE!

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

of "Developmen" is still what it is classically designed to do - reduce dependency and make people more able to be free agents. The list is impressive and we try to group projects to indicate the areas in which the thrust of aid and development is being directed.

(Information by Outer Islands Affairs CAO M. Unuia and Atiu Project Officer T. Vainepoto)

OUTER ISLAND AFFAIRS PLAYS MILLION DOLLAR DEVELOPMENT CARD

Comment

The Project Work listed on the left represents, of course, solid classical Development.

In the tradition of international aid and human development, it seeks, through a variety of infrastructural projects to stimulate independent action by the people of a nation still extremely underdeveloped in so far as the level of dependency among Maori citizens is extremely high.

In the list are both successful and unsuccessful projects. What is clear is that the work of the Department

SEE THE NEXT PAGE

TRANSPORT:

Airport Terminal (Canadian Aid)

Main Landing Packing Shed at Taunganui Harbour (NZ Aid)

Road Tar Sealing (CIs. Government)

Plantation Roads (CIs. Government)

WATER SUPPLY:

Roadside water taps and header tank supply (SPC)

500g galvanised water tanks to 10 vegetable growers (Netherlands Aid)

Domestic Water tanks & interior kitchen facilities for each home (Under submission)

Drainage Improvement (NZ Aid)

WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT:

Women's Centre (IHAP -under submission)

EDUCATION:

Pre-School Centre (IHAP)

Amenities & Toilet Block Atiu College (USA Aid)

Agriculture Storage Shed Atiu College (Canadian Aid)

Agriculture Equipment (Canadian Aid)

CARPENTRY:

Carving tools (Ntherlands Aid)
Joinery & Cabinet Making Equipment (PIDS)

AGRICULTURE:

Four Piggeries (Netherlands Aid)

Pineapple Dryer (Netherlands Aid)

Goat Fencing (Netherlands Aid)

FISHING:

Four aluminium boats and outboards (Netherlands Aid)

Milk Fish Project & Experiements (CIs. Government)

PUBLIC WORKS:

Front End Loader (Canadian Aid)

UNDER FIRST STAGE SUBMISSION:

Solar, wind and electric pumps
Hospital Extension
Fogging machine
Amubulance
New Crusher
New barge
Mechanical Workshop for College
Pineapple Juice Processor.

GROWTH:
THEY SAY IT'S THE MOST EFFICIENT WEAPON YET INVENTED — BUT THE FLAMIN' RABBITS WON'T SIT STILL LONG ENOUGH FOR ME TO THUMP 'EM WITH IT!

Help from big brother

Renowned NZ cartoonist Murray Ball offers these satirical comments upon two aspects of international aid:

ABOVE: The advent of technology.

LEFT: Manpower development.

(The Internationalist)

LEFT: Project information supplied by Outer Islands Affairs Officers Mann Unuia, Taunga Temu and Tangata Vainepoto.

NB: These are all ongoing programmes since 1986. Some are completed, some in the process of completion, others at various stages of project submission.

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

of Outer Islands Affairs shows a solid amount of serious work and planning.

The total value of the projects listed is estimated at about $800,00 by the end of this year.

Add to this, other aid and development funding outside the auspices of Outer Islands Affairs and the total Development package wrapped up through government to government (or government agency to government agency) planning and negotiation will amount on the island of Atiu alone around $1m.

It is an impressive record and Dr. Robati is to be congratulated (NOT, in the classic manner of a politician claiming HE has GOT the aid, a claim which is insulting to our intelligence and to the donor nation) for performing his ministerial role with obvious intense personal enthusiasm and grass roots understanding of what is actually required and also for three less obvious reasons:

a. for taking on himself the political flak and controversy always surrounding aid and shielding his public servants from this.

b. for encouraging a young and locally experienced group of senior officers to develop their own abilities as administrators without blaming them publically if things go wrong.

c. for not pushing himself to the forefront in publicity or in the "nitty-gritty" of Project work but stepping back after giving ministerial approvals and letting his public servants, by and large, get on with their job.

In other words, Outer Islands Affairs appears to the outsider to be operating as a proper Ministry.

Where Dr. Robati may be criticised in the area of development is not as Minister of Outer Islands Affairs.

It is in the role of PM in, arguably, failing to prevent many of his parliamentary team indulging in cheap vote-buying by handing out unwarranted jobs, loans and privileges.

Again, referring back to classic development strategy, this amounts to classic encouragement of dependency.

Rightly, it will be as legitimate an attack on government by Mr. Henry as it was by the Davis/Robati-led Demos prior to 1978 on the CIP government.

As fast as development is fostered by aid projects, it is dissipated by patronage, most of the extra home cash of which is not invested in family development but in the purchase of imported consumables.

Much of the above is strong current CIP argument. It is difficult to deny it and Mr. Henry 's case is that there is plenty of aid available to better the people's lives if it is managed efficiently and allied to manpower training, the weakest aspect of present government development.

Dr. Robati needs firm, quick and persuasive answers to the accusation that his Ministers are politicising the concept of people's aid by claiming it comes directly from their personal efforts, in the first instance, and that their weilding of patronage for political ends can be termed "development".

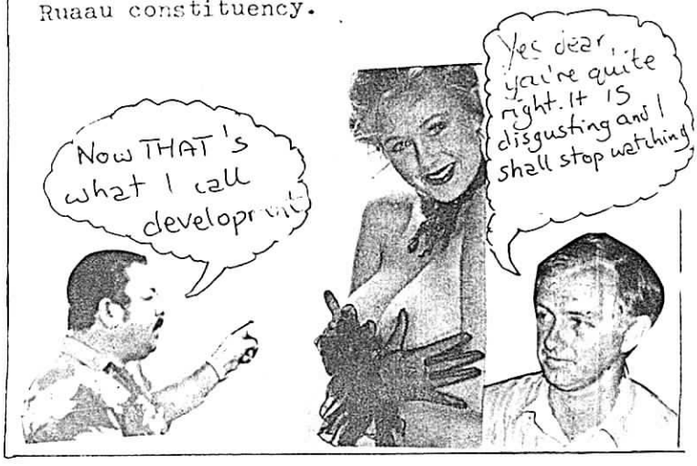
The excellent ministerial work done by Dr. Robati, Mr. George Mr. Matepi and others is belittled once they soil their portfolios with local political dirt.

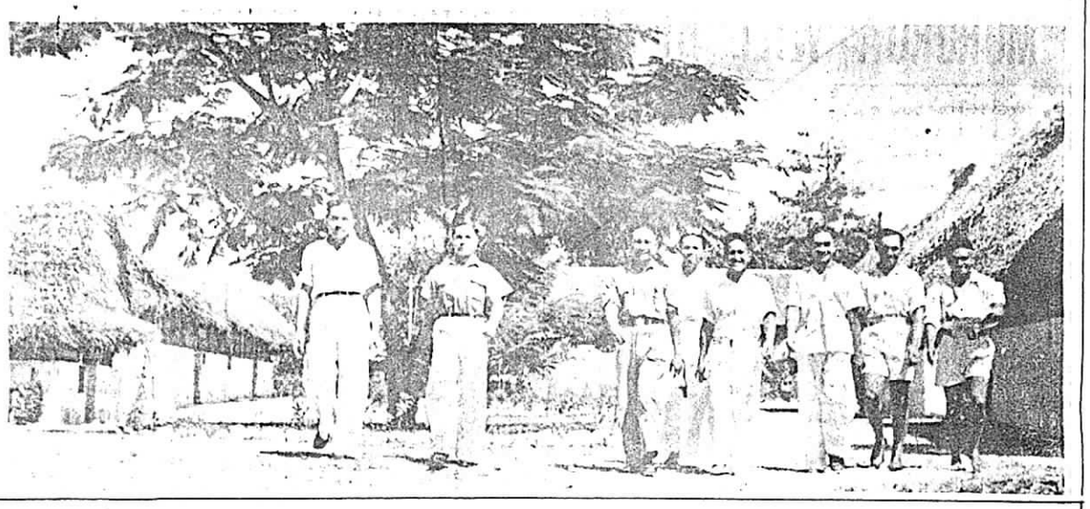
One might wish they would have the courage to stand on their pure ministerial record.

In the case of Dr. Robati and the fully localised personnel in his Outer Islands Affairs Ministry it is a quiet and very competent record of developing development.

The JOURNAL acknowledges with gratitude the assistance of officers of the Ministry of Outer Islands Affairs in providing unconditional information to assist us in compiling this special report on the work of this important Ministry. The opinions expressed in the report and the profile of the PM/Minister are entirely the responsibility of this newspaper and are based in no form whatsoever on information obtained from the officers and public servants of the Ministry of Outer Islands Affairs. The JOURNAL and, we believe, our readers, congratulate Dr. Robati and his Ministry upon being the first government ministry ever to submit its work to the free scrutiny of an independent paper.

WARNING: The cartoon below is licensed to be looked at in private WHO funded pit latrines only. All rights (and wrongs) reserved. Any unauthorised tittering, giggling, sniggering, whinnying or any other form of un-called-for exhibitionism including parking outside the Ministry of Development during any working half hour or voting for Mr. Ingram in any form whatsoever is likely to be punished by up to one hundred years in the CIP labour camp, Rakahanga or a fine equal to the cost of tar-sealing all the roads in the Ruaau constituency.





Atiu 1948: Atiu Primary School Teachers take a break from class in this archives photo offered by curator George Paniani to CIBNC and lent to us by local teaching "stalwart" Michael Toki. LEFT TO RIGHT: T CAN YOU SPOT: Tangata Simiona (later Inspector, Minister and now Ombudsman); Tiki Tetava Ariki (later MP); Teiotu(Tu)Tangatapoto (current Mayor of Atiu); Moeara Moeroa (currently CAO Mangaia, former Principal Oneroa); Michael Toki (former Principal Atiu).....and Vainerere Tangatapoto (former MP and Deputy Speaker of the House). Amighty bunch of Human Development achievers!

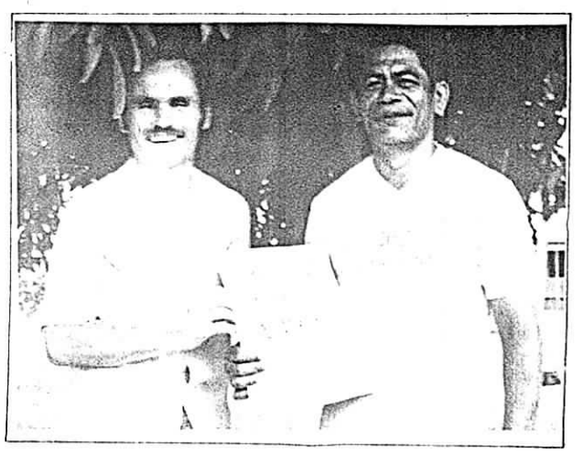
And here's the best news

What it is all meant to add up to, of course, is not measurable in yards of concrete, miles of fencing, output of generators and so forth.

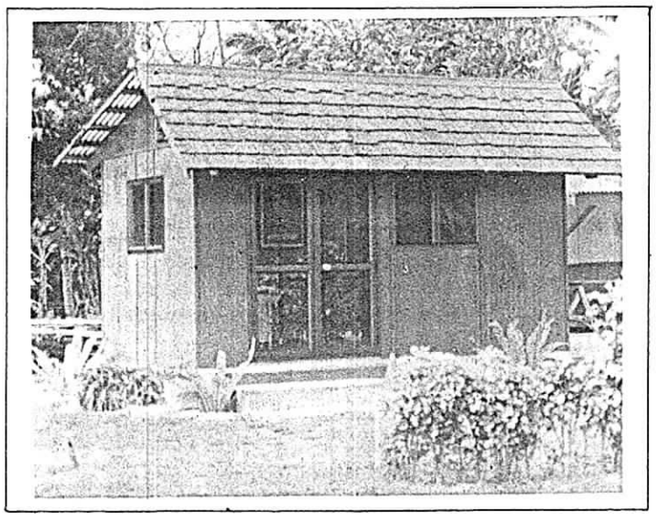
Nor is it supposed to result in the greater glory of governments, aid agencies and politicians. It is all supposed to result in human development, the growth of individuals towards personal freedom and control over theirs and their people's destiny. The battle is against dependency in all its forms.

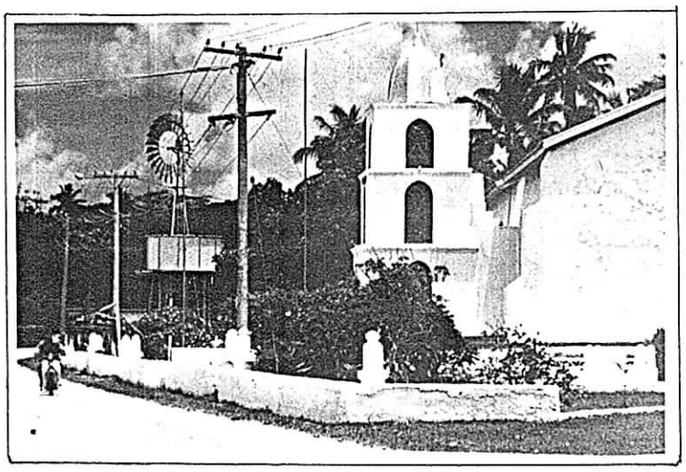
The best news is...as you can see from this page, there are plenty of Atiuans (and a Mitiaroan!) who won that battle in the past and many who are still fighting it today.

Joining the the Atiu Primary staff at a highpoint in its staffing back in 1948 is 1988 Forestry Officer Kapao Kapao (below right) receiving his IAAF certificate of meritorious service to CIs. athletics, work which opened up many chances for young Atiuans in sport. (LEFT) CIAAA Secretary David Lobb making the presentation.



-WHITHER ATIU?-





In spite of all the defects and the problems....regardless of the philosophies and politics, the JOURNAL and many other outside neutral commentators would be legitimately accused of "nit-picking" if, in this brief survey of Development on Atiu, it was not stated FIRMLY that (measured by the observable reduced levels of dependency among the people) "Development" on Atiu under the overall planning of government and the advice of Minister Norman George assisted by MP Parataainga has made sound, in-depth advances. It is, ironically, (for MP's who shudder at the word), pure socialist development. It is a record they can take honourably to the people and legitimately challenge opposition on serious grounds.

Put very simply, this is how it is all supposed to work: Our photo illustration explains Outer Islands development (from the top) with the following representational shots:

1. TOP: Private Enterprise (here Air Raro) invests in high cost, commercially profitable infrastructure (e.g. transport and communications) to set up the logistics for development (travel, communications, contact with the outside world) and link up with....

2. CENTRE: ....government planning with aid agencies to build into the day-to-day structure of life the basic requirements (here water supply through windmill generation) on which to build a better life for....

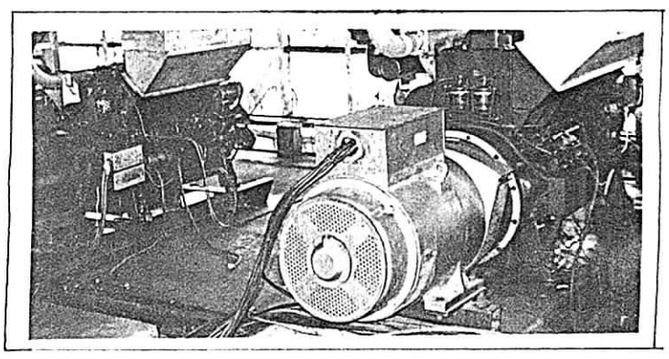
3. BELOW: ....the people, thus enabling them to acquire the knowledge and confidence to move out of a condition of dependency and take charge of their destiny independently (here teachers and scholarship students partake in a USP sponsored ESL summer school on Atiu).

It's called, folks, the inner workings of a socialist mixed economy.

BUT WATCH OUT!

The problematic Atiu Power Supply. JOURNAL Investigations reveal that a staggering $2m would be needed to cope with development plans. The Big Achilles Heel?

SEE THE NEXT PAGE



The photo-study on Page 11 makes text book reading. And within each picture is a further mighty tale of development.

The epic tale of Air Rarotonga as "The People's Airline" reaches its 10th year in 1988 - years involving enormous struggles at political and commercial level in order to gain acceptance for the (supposedly) wild gamble of linking a domestic airline to Outer Islands Development. It is a development tale of infrastructure, manpower, and betterment of people's lives and talents, all of its own.

The saga of Government's battle for aid on its own terms is similarly a story of epic local proportions, as is the tale of the Manpower Development needed to run the infrastructural apparatus of the country.

And finally, what it's all about, the shot of this year's USP Summer School tells many tales. A comparison with the photo on page 10 is enough to indicate the vast strides in personal development which have been taken by women. The classroom and its furniture are indicative of the building programmes which have taken place. The presence of the course tutor speaks of the new ease of transport which brought him from Fiji. The presence also of two scholarship students raised and taught in the Outer Islands indicates both the development of O.Is. higher education and of the scholarship scheme itself. The fact that a third young teacher is an ex-scholarshipper now returned and working on her home island is also part of the ongoing picture of development. And, on a spiritual and human plane, the fact that one of the scholarshippers is a white citizen gives proof of the way the country is developing into the kind of sophisticated multi-racial community its citizens are increasingly proud of.

WATCH OUT!

BUT...one big, black, threatening query underlies all the optimistic words about development.

It is the question of power generation, in particular fossil fuel power generation with machinery that is old, out-of-date, broken and whose spare parts are beoming increasingly difficult to obtain world-wide.

The power problem has the dimensions of a nightmarish catastrophe for both the Outer Islands and Rarotonga.

LEFT: EPS workers on a training demonstration in Atiu.

(Photos in this section by Joy DuPlessis)

Our, we believe, totally impartial and expert information sources claim that it is a question which no politician wishes to address coldly and clinically.

For, by doing so, any government would be compelled to admit that pressing on with classic, and often vote-catchingly glamorous, development projects, structured upon a catastrophe such as our current power supply apparatus, is proceeding towards utter disaster.

Most experts predict that political and existing commercial enterprises will demand we attempt to "muddle though". That will increasingly mean breakdowns, blackouts, load sharing and more breakdowns, increasing in regularity (as already on Atiu) as the burden placed on ancient machinery becomes more and more intolerable.

The estimated cost to Atiu to upgrade EXISTING facilties and modest levels of development over the next five years, starting right now, is $2million.

That does NOT include the three high-energy-intensive proposals involved in a new village development to create a whole new community, the unplanned and often "top of the head" schemes spoken of by the ADC committee and the foreign-controlled Ledarco venture....any one of which has the potential to massacre existing power arrangements.

Talk of alternative power seems at present just that - talk.

The wood-burning scheme keeps getting new dates for its arrival.

The solar scheme in Mitiaro was reportedly a disaster.

Existing businesses, like AML, talk of being able to patch up and muddle through and expect that t be the pattern for the future.

Well, that's all very well for those with the wherewithal to run private standby supplies and have the technical knowledge to cope on their own.

The rest of Atiu is doomed to smash their development toes in the dark as they stumble over to the video to switch it off before it blows up when the power temporarily surges back to life with a 500v spike!

Either that, or lay up a stock of candles and dry out their supply of Kura's Chinese matches!

So, our expert contacts predict.

One hopes they are wrong. But they say, "stop dreaming! We are right!"

MIND OUR OWN BUSINESS!

—SMALL ATIUAN SOCKS BIG NORM

(NB: The reference is purely physical! Mrs. Malcolm is about 5 foot in a good light when she is really trying. Mr. George is approximately 9' 8" in a bad light! ED.)

"We have offered to buy Roger and Kura out if they feel wounded."

ATIU OFFICE PRESS RELEASE

Following last week's publication of an Atiu Office press release containing a named attack upon AML and its owner Mrs. Kura Malcolm, together with its co-director Mr. Roger Malcolm, we were approached by Mrs Malcolm who requested (via a statement) the right of reply herself, even though we had published a reply from Mr. Malcolm.

"All three of us individually named are entitled to reply, "she claimed, adding "My husband speaks for himself. I reply on behalf of my Atiuan business as an Atiuan who won't put up with it."

Accordingly, we publish below Mrs Malcolm's press release in exactly the same form as that of the Atiu Office release and offer our comment for readers afterwards.

Mrs Malcolm questions the whereabouts of Minister Norman George when, she alleges, he was "most needed by the people".

She mentions Mr. George's alleged absence in February 1987 when the ELI problems began to "broil".

She asks where the Minister was when she claims to have handed a regulation 3 nominations for committee election at the ELI AGM which she claims were refused by the chairman and secretary with an allegedly insulting comment.

She further asks where he was during the troubled events of the AGM.

She finally questions his absence which, she claims, meant that he did not see "when shareholders were told to sit down and shut up or be thrown out."

"I WAS there," she states, "he was NOT."

She offers her tape recording of proceedings as witness.

Mrs. Malcolm also asks where Mr. George was in his role as committee advisor and notes that she believes he had expressed a wish not be involved.

She then proceeds to ask where the Minister was when the court sitting on ELI took place in Atiu.

Had he been there, she claims, he would have heard the Judge reprimanding the committee and commending Tura Koronui and others.

Had he also been there, she says,

SEE THE NEXT PAGE

AML

AFTER WORK
WEEK-ENDS
TONIGHT

COME
TO
AUNTIE
KURA

WELCOME

SMALL ATIUAN SOCKS BIG NORM

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

he would have heard the Judge say the committee should pay for the costs.

She thus concludes by claiming that it was not "us" who asked ELI to pay but the judge and further asks whether the Minister is questioning the Judge's ability to weigh right and wrong.

Mrs Malcolm accuses the Minister of acting one year later and choosing to attack "Tura, Roger and Kura".

She expresses her view that $5000 (the court costs) is nothing compared to what shareholders got back. She says that this was their land which was returns and places a personal value on her land, in terms of what she can pass on to her children, which far exceeds $5000.

She then questions the motives for what she terms "Norman attacking us".

She hypotheises that the reason is because at a recent High Court sitting in Rarotonga, the judge was "very unhappy that a new company" ADS with many of the same committee members as ELI was still holding a large sum of money belonging to ELI and using it, she claims, to operate the ADS retail shop!

She asserts that no one should be "misled by the name Atiu Development Society".

It is, she claims, "as private as

It is not, she claims, like a normal private company.

She alleges that ADS could not register as a society because of certain requirements.

It cannot register as a company, she says, "because the true shareholders want more than 25 shareholders to get the much needed capital by share transfer from ELI."

She then accuses the Minister of amending the company's act so a company can now have 250 shareholders.

This, she says, is how ADS now comes to be known as ADC.

(NB: The Minister's action, if as reported, reflects the will of many members of ELI at their wind up meeting. In a developing nation, it is fairly common practice for legislation to be made to counter apparent unforeseen anomalies bequeathed by the colonial era. Hence, there may be other, less sinister implications to the action alleged by Mrs Malcolm. ED)

Mrs Malcolm alleges an attack by Mr. George upon her private retail shop business, using his power as an MP.

She states that she is not frightened but, by contrast says,"I pity Norman George"!

She claims that he is the one showing fear and surmises that this is the reason for his attack.

Mrs Malcolm repeats her query as to the supposed whereabouts of Minister George "when your people needed you".

Mrs Malcolm concludes by apologising to supporters of Tura Koronui in the land affair "because Norman George did not recognise you and your effort" and only recognised herself, her husband and Mr. Koronui.

She calls upon people to ask Mr. George, "where were you when I wanted you?"

In a footnote to her statement, Mrs Malcolm addresses the issue of over charging at her retail shop AML in comparison with prices at ELI retail store (Now 'To Tatou Toa' ADC)

She states:

1. She has an invoice to show she did not buy a carcase of lamb for $5.00 (alleged by the Atiu Office release to have been sold at $99.00)

2. She claims that ELI sold 500gm rice for $1.05 (the same price now at ADC) whereas she sells hers for $0.85

3. She claims that ELI sold 2lt. ice cream for $8.00 whereas she sold hers at $5.60

4. On the subject of frozen chickens, Mrs Malcolm claims she sold size 7 whereas ELI sold size 4.

(By and large, give or take fluctuations, enquiries among customers tend to confirm Mrs Malcolm's figures).

She states that she runs a business to make a profit and alleges that ELI's aim was to undercut others and let the shareholders stand the loss.

She alleges that this was able to be done because ELI, she claims, had a capital of $65000 to be used "for the purpose of undercutting other retail shops

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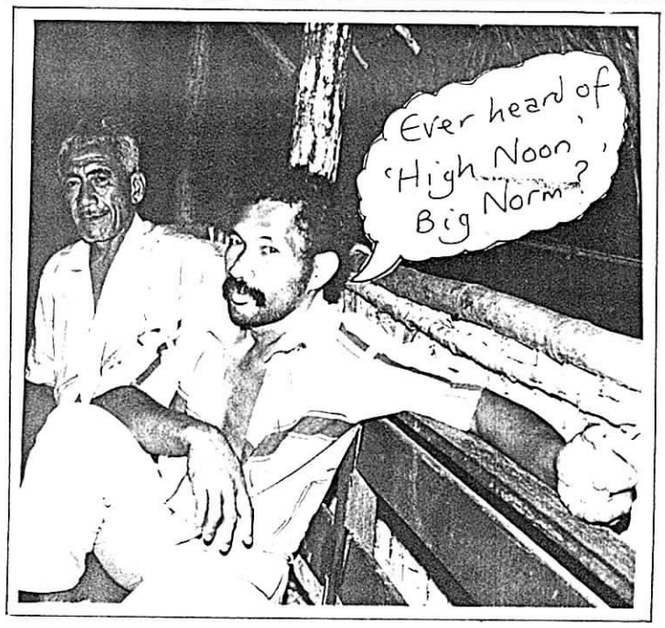

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

and hopefully forcing them out of business before they (the ELI committee) ran out of dollars".

She quotes the 1986-7 ELI balance sheet as alleged evidence of this aim.

She claims that the alleged scheme fell down because some shareholders were "unhappy with the lack of AGM's, financial reports, dividends etc and sought to correct the committee".

She says that the fact that her action started after the opening of the ELI shop was coincidental and not her reason for acting. She states that the first actions on the management of ELI can be traced back to 1983.

COMMENTARY

We make it a rule NOT to comment upon readers' letters, except to indicate matters of fact directly aimed at the JOURNAL.

It is a readers right to have a letter published (of reasonable length and not defamatory) without comment or editorial involvement.

However, readers' reactions to the ELI/ADC/AML affair sparked by last week's press release from the Atiu Office leave us in no doubt that they would like editprial assistance in assembling their views on a matter which goes far beyond the shores of Atiu in scope.

The story involves the Judge of the High Court, a senior member of cabinet widely tipped as a future contender for PM's Office, many small Atiuan farmers representative of the mass of dependent Maori citizens, a white immigrant citizen representative of many fighting for equal rights in the country of adoption, an Atiuan wife claiming any advantage she gains from having a highly intelligent white husband is her right, and a foreign investor who appears to be pushing the limits of investor control of local business to unprece

dented lengths.

It is thus a national story.

And, in issuing the above statements, Mrs Malcolm cannot claim the sanctity of a letter writer and remain freer from comment than the formal press release issued by the Atiu Office.

Her statement raises, firstly, some difficult indirect issues.

Our country is just starting to evaluate the role of a free press.

It is early days. Learner days.

And we are learners as much as the public and the various authorities.

The cause of a free press owes an enormous amount to Norman George whose ready acceptance of hard-line cut and thrust has kept papers such as Cook Islands Times and the JOURNAL on the streets when many around him were howling at the time for instant banning.

It is therefore ironic that he should now become potentially a victim of the process of free expression and that Mrs Malcolm should owe her chance to lambast Norman George to none other than Norman George!

So, readers must bear in mind the rare privilege they are receiving in having an issue thrown wide open with no

"Upstairs" interference.

The JOURNAL itself has indirect difficulties.

We operate solely upon the only guidelines so far given in our country - the CIBNC Act which speaks of a duty to publish what is "in the public interest".

Who then is the public ? And what is their interest?

The interests of Mr. George and Mr. & Mrs Malcolm and Mr. Koronui and the ELI/ADC committee members and their manager Mr. Manske are quite clear to us, we believe.

But are they the public and is their interest the public's ?

We hope that so far we have managed to disentangle the vested interests.

We hope that what we have published to date is seen by the public as solely written in their interests.

A respected (by other journalists!) figure in CIs. journalism, the former editor of the independent VIEWPOINT Greg Hoepper, once commented "Its not hard. Bang down one side. Bang down the other. And let the public make up their mind."

True. That's the principle. But, as Greg well knows, it's never that simple.

It's the banging down that's hard. Banging down so that there's an equal bang on both sides and not one that is distorted by the fact

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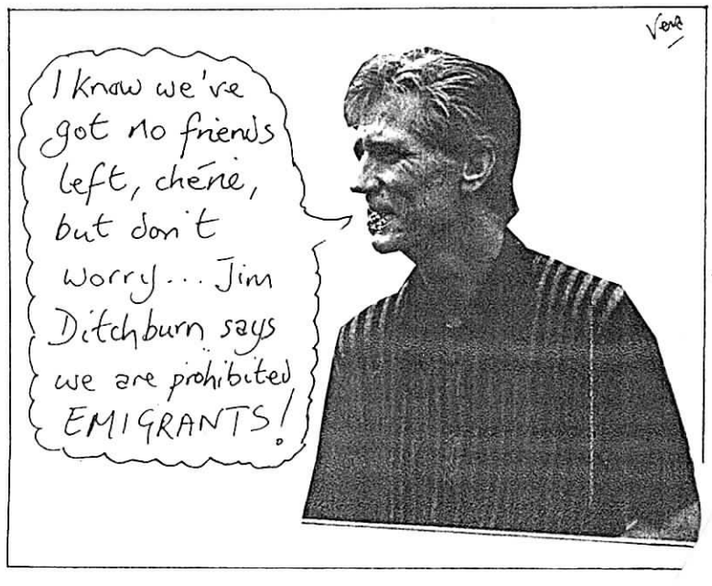

FROM THE PREVIOUS PAGE..

that the unwary journalist could find himself able to tie the inexperienced ADC committee into little knots of disastrous press statements or that the sheer communication logistics on an outer island end up giving one side or another a very unfair advantage.

So what we have tried to do is bang down one side, bang down the other BUT in order to make sure a reasonable balance is kept, we've also banged down some background and (as last week's treatment of the press release showed) also banged down a few definitive statements on matters of proveable fact where we've been able to dig them out.

So, to move on to the direct problems associated with Mrs Malcolm's statement.

For the most part, like the Atiu Office press release, it is rhetorical and highly emotional.

We leave you, our readers, to decide whose rhetoric you are most attracted by!

Or maybe, you would prefer to wait and see whether, in his usual inimitable style, Mr. George replies.

To get over the more obvious facts offered by Mrs Malcolm referring to retail prices, we find her statements correct in so far as the recollection of some of her customers go.

It is the scenario offered by the aggrieved Mrs Malcolm that worried us, however.

The scenario offers the picture of an innocent and law-abiding pair of Atiuan shop-keepers being hounded unfairly by a Minister of the crown who has used his office to alter the laws of the land to benefit a rival private company, the members of whose executive are in defiance of the High Court, for, presumably, political gain.

The JOURNAL is not convinced by the scenario.

Their are replies to each of the accusations made by Mrs. Malcolm within the scenario offered above.

Law-abiding ?

Of course. The Malcolms are ultra law-abiding. They are a credit to the community, warm, generous, open and honest.

But innocent ?

There are those who maintain that a couple of outrageously highly qualified academics, one of whom has imported more all-round skills than any other member of the community, and both of whom have very close personal friendships with importers, suppliers, wholesalers and retailers on Rarotonga...and who have set up a village shop requiring a profit margin sufficient to help support a luxurious lifestyle (by Atiuan standards)..can hardly merit the label "innocent".

This is an argument expressed to us by a wide range of observers, both Atiuan and from overseas and it constitutes a significant amount of the depth of feeling the ELI/AML squabble has gererated.

Many of those who feel this way have turned to Mr. George in frustration, as they feel he is the only weapon they can use to counter overwhelming linguistic, educational, and worldly odds against them offered by the Malcolms.

This is how, after refusing for a long time to get involved, Mr. George has been dragged in, at the request, let it not be overlooked, of constituents.

In her statement Mrs Malcolm falls into the same trap as did the Atiu Office press release.

She can hardly justifiably complain that Mr. George absented himself from certain meetings whilst later complaining that he should not get involved!

The questions of loans, committee actions, repayments and so forth will receive, we hope, definitive rulings in May from the High Court.

Until then, it would seem to be best for everyone not to confuse what they don't like or don't approve of with what is or isn't illegal.

At the heart of Mrs Malcolm's statement lie, indirectly, certain matters which are of concern to the whole of Atiu.

They are:

1. Is the Minister being dragged into the dirt of Atiu local politics by powerful

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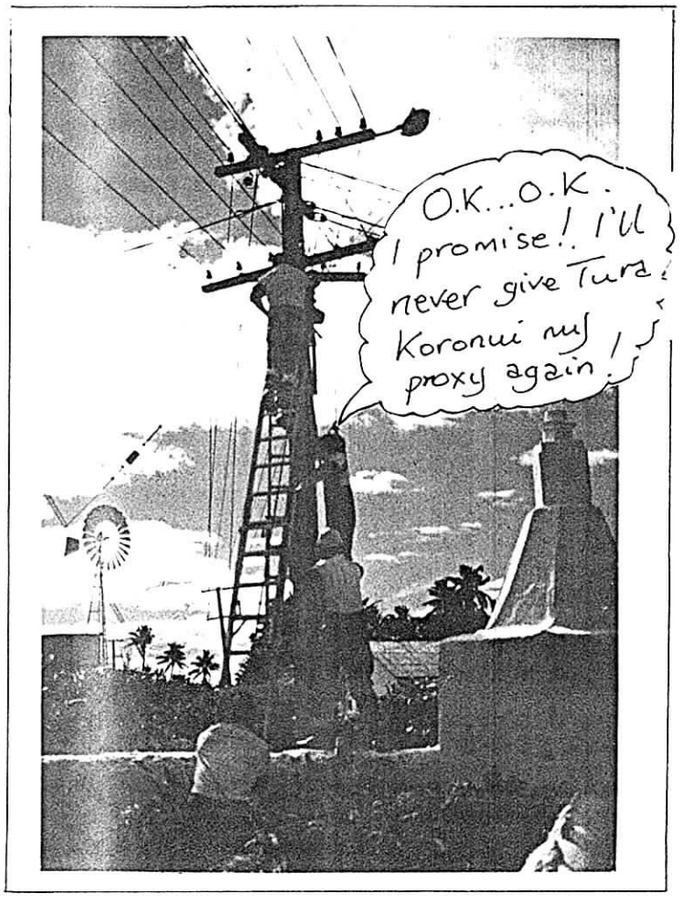

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local political powerbrokers desperate to threaten his nomination in order to force him to get them off the hook in their ELI problems ? The word is out among the concerned and the troublemakers alike that this IS the case and is the only convincing reason why Mr. George would forsake his previously correct ministerial aloofness and which has enabled him successfully to handle several tricky Atiuan matters.

2. If this is so, then are those trying to manipulate Mr. George being so advised and given courage to do so by Mr. Manske, their "manager"?

Word is out,too, that this may be the case, although the word comes largely from Mr. Malcolm's supporters. If it is true, Mr. Manske may be judged to have far exceeded the tolerable limits of local interference on the part of a foreign investor.

The point also arises, that if Mr. Manske IS the PR, commercial, political etc adviser to the committee, it would seem sensible of the committee to try alternatives as, whoever has given them advice up to now has succeeded in fouling up every legal, administrative, political and PR move they have made whether as the liquidated ELI or the apparently insolvent ADC.. ..and has managed to plunge into doubt what a short time was ago one of the safest seat in the country.

If we weren't aware that Mr. Henry doesn't operate that way, we could be easily convinced ELI/ADC was on the Party payroll!

CONCLUSION:

The JOURNAL believes that the AML/ELI/ADC affair is of great national significance becuase of the issues involved (land, rule of law, foreign investment controls, political involvement, government involvement with private business etc) and the fact that the personalities represent nationally idientifiable types.

We have the temerity to not only report in the public interest but to advise in the public interest.

1. That the Malcolms, as citizens of this country, have a right to do as they **!!-ing well like and its not for us or Mr. Manske or Mr. George to tell them what they can and can't do. BUT, they do not have a right to expect everyone to approve what they do.

2. That Mr. George would be well advised to jump on a plane to a Foreign Affairs Conference somewhere until Judge Dillon has set everything up on a legal basis. That way, OUR minister may be able to bar the door to any who think he is THEIR Minister to manipulate for personal reasons. In other words, get some distance Minister and leave Atiu to wallow in its own dirt for a bit!

3. That Mr. Manske should study the foreign investment legislation with a view to understanding the spirit of fostering local independence of control, decision making and disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of Paradise. Then he should become his own likeable self again and get on with running the coffee and doing the committee books..without comment!

4. That the committee should have the courage to bring their company out into the light of the clear Atiuan day where all is respect, forgiveness, support and a wish to see te au apinga Atiu succeed, for once... done by ordinary Atiuans on their own!

5. That Mrs Malcolm continue to demonstrate that a Mokoroa can always stand up to a George and accept that it's part of being an Atiuan to expect a George to have a go at a Mokoroa if he feels like it!

Meanwhile, the JOURNAL is

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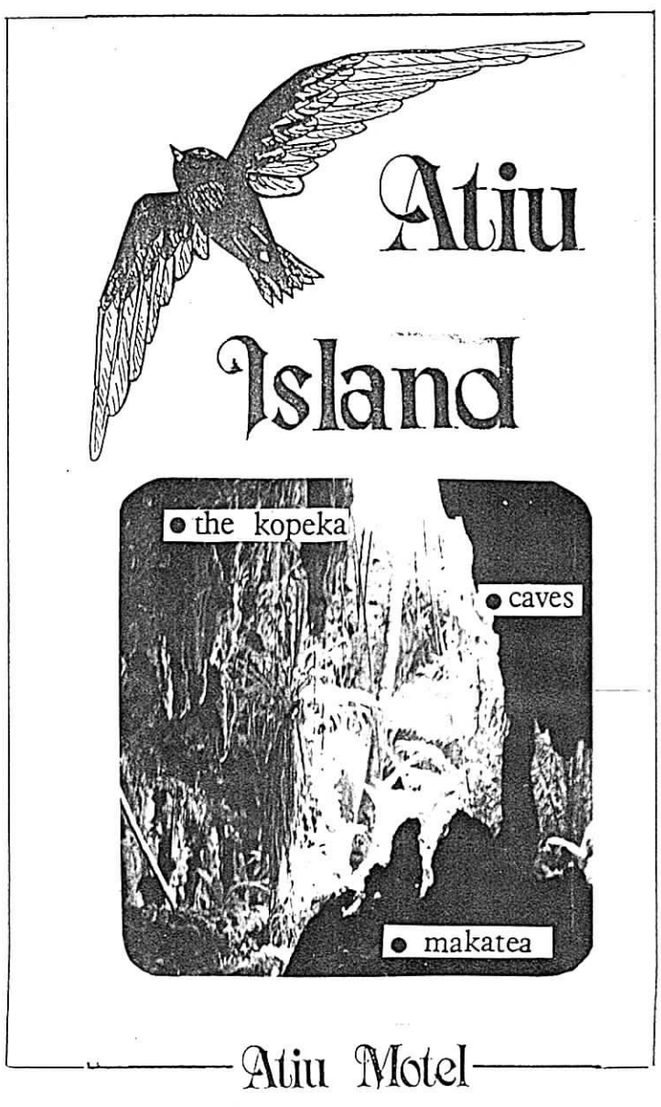

March 25 1988

THE JOURNAL & THE (Last) WORD

COMMENTARY

(from page 17)

is pondering a move to Managaia

is pondering a move to Mangaia where the knives come at you fully frontal and the blood is rich, red and living...not not printers ink!

FOOTNOTE:

Last week, we vowed to let readers know why we feel that Roger Malcolm and Tura Koronui were also wrong in the ELI Liquidation Affair.

The reason is brief.

For whatever reason, they played a not insignificant role in the demise of a 15 year old workers' co-operative. And rather than use the law to force it to work properly, they joined many other utterly dependent farmers and took back tiny patches of useless land.

And they led a celebration!

In the third world the death of a workers' co-operative is a time for grief, not celebration.

If Roger and Tura don't know that, then they betray the founding principles of the party to which they profess allegiance.

The CIP was not the party of the petty bourgeois and, it is believed, still isn't.

Those who celebrate what is in fact the return to dependency of the small-time Maori have little in common with the traditions of the CIP.

Roger and Tura were wrong to celebrate the return of useless land. It makes them look, some might dare to whisper, as much users of the CIP for their own ends as the committee are in their attempts to use Norman George!

NEXT WEEK -

Norman George - opportunist schemer or much-maligned MP acting as the voice of his constituents and party officials ?

-An important CIs. political review.

THE LAST SAY

"When you cancel your PLAYBOY subscription and hide in the bathroom with WOMEN'S WEEKLY fantasising over the picture spreads of beef steak and salads, you know you've been in the Outer Islands too long!"

THE ABC OF ADC

(FROM FRONT PAGE)

Mr. Kaiaruna stepped into the crisis of accusation and counter accusation to make it quite clear to the public who, in his view, runs ADC.

Mr. Kaiaruna declined at this stage a full interview but during the course of a long discussion with the JOURNAL he concurred that the company may be receiving unfavourable public relations.

"This", he said "is not really fair. We have never attacked anyone and we will never attack another business and friends like Roger Malcolm."

Mr. Kaiaruna stated that whatever private individuals choose to say was their own affair but it must be remembered that no individual may speak on behalf of the company.

He said that he took the independent step of speaking publically in the clear interests of his company and committee.

The full text of Mr. Kaiaruna's exclusive press release.....

NEXT WEEK - ONLY IN THE JOURNAL!